

Hikayat Hang Tuah.

PART I.

BY R. O. WINSTEDT, D. LITT., (OXON.)

Newbold in his "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," Vol. II, page 327, comments as follows on the *Hikayat*:—"Valentyn thus speaks of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*: 'I know not who is the author of the book, but must declare it is one of the most beautifully written I ever perused'. Mr. Crawford, in allusion to this remark, observes, 'This favourite of Valentyn to my taste is a most absurd and puerile production. It contains no historical fact, upon which the slightest reliance can be placed; no date whatever; and if we except the faithful picture of native mind and manners, which it unconsciously affords, is utterly worthless and contemptible'. The work, however, appears to me to merit the sweeping censure Mr. Crawford has bestowed on it, as little as the enthusiastic Valentyn's unqualified praise. Leyden, speaking of these historical romances, observes justly, particularly of the *Hang Tuah*, that, 'though occasionally embellished by fiction, it is only from them that we can obtain an outline of the Malay history and of the progress of the nation'." The book is peculiarly a book of British Malaya, but Newbold's comment is still after ninety years the last word of British criticism, and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* has been left unheeded under what Newbold reluctantly called "the Upas tree of British apathy." However a Dutch scholar G. K. Niemann has given us fragments of the *Hikayat* with notes in his *Bloemlezing* (4e druk 1892 I, p. 103, and II, pp. 54-116). R. Brons Middel has published an abbreviated edition, *Hikajat Hang Tuwah*, Leiden, 1893. Dr. Brandstetter has given us a useful outline in his "Malaio-Polynesische Forschungen III," Luzern, 1894. Professor Dr. van Ronkel has written a paper on Hang Tuah's visit to the country of the Tamils (Shellabear, Vol. II, pp. 121-146) and discussed several difficulties (*Bij. T. L. en V. K., N. I. Kon. Inst.*, No. 7, Vol. II, p. 311: 1904). Above all, Shellabear has published a complete text. References to MSS. and brief notices of the romance will be found in Juynboll's "Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneseche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits Bibliotheek," CXVIII, pages 147-8.

I give here an outline of the tale and propose in a later paper to furnish critical notes on a work of very considerable literary merit in parts, compounded by various hands of Indonesian folklore, Moslem legend, voyagers' tales, authentic history and reminiscences from such literature as the Javanese Panji cycle and the Malay version of the Ramayana (e.g. Vol. II, page 196).

On the advice of astrologers, a princess, Gemala Rakna Pelinggam by name, had been put by her parents on an Island Biram Dewa. Thither to hunt came a prince from *kěindraan*, called Sang Pěrtala (*Pěrtā* or *Pěrna*, Niemann) Dewa. He wooed and wedded the earthly princess, who bore a son Sang Pěri (*Purba* or *Sipurba*, Niemann) Dewa. That child was made king at Bukit Si-guntang Mahameru and married a girl born of the vomit of a bull that came down from heaven. The fruit of their marriage was four children, Sang Saniaka, Sang Jaya Nantaka, Sang Maniaka, Sang Satiaka. A *nakhoda* from Palembang saw the four boys and took them to be demigods (*anak dewa*). Later, chiefs came from Bentan and Singapore to Palembang to ask for one of the youths to be their king. Sang Maniaka was chosen and appointed his court,—four ministers: Běndahara Paduka Raja, Fěrdana Mantěri, Těměnggong Sěri 'diraja, Tun Pikrama; four captains (*hulubalang*): Tun Bijaya Sura, Tun Bijaya 'diraja: four *orang bėsar*: Tun Aria, Sang Jaya, Sang Utama, Sang Děrma.

Hang Tuah was the son of Hang Mahmud and Dang Měrdu Wati. Hang Mahmud removed from his home at Sungai Duyong to Bentan. One day he dreamt that the moon fell and illumined the head of his son. So Hang Tuah was dressed in white and prayers were offered for him. When he grew big, he became a hewer of wood for the Bendahara Paduka Raja. He had four friends: Hang Jebat, Hang Lekir, Hang Kasturi, and Hang Lekiswa. One day they sailed for Pulau Tinggi in a *pěrahu lading*. They were attacked by three boatloads of pirates from Siantan and Jěmaja, subjects of Majapahit, under two leaders Pěnghulu Aria Něgara and Aria Jěmaja, who were bound for Palembang to raid it by order of the minister Patch Gajah Mada of Majapahit. They beat off the pirates and sailed with ten prisoners for Singapore. The Batin of Singapore, who was sailing to Bentan with 7 boats, saved them from pursuit. Hang Tuah and his friends become pupils of a *pandita*, Adi Putěra, whose eldest brother Pěrtala was an ascetic on Gunong Měrta Pura in Majapahit and his next brother, Radin Aria, an officer under the Bětara of that kingdom. One day Hang Tuah killed a man, who was running amuck, with his wood-chopper. Later he and his comrades saved the Běndahara from being murdered by four *pěngamok*. The Běndahara protested that he was unaware the boys were sons of *kakak* Dollah, *kakak* Mansor, *kakak* Shamsu and *kakak* Rějěling (or *Samut* Nie.) Hang Tuah finds a *chintamani* snake. The five youths enter the service of the Raja of Bentan.

The Ratu of Lasam in Jawa once ordered Patch Kěrma Wijaya to repair the land wasted by Radin Inu Kuripan. The Patch went to Pachang and there falling sick sent to Lasam for his daughter Ken Sěměrta. The Ratu of Lasam saw and seized her. In anger Patch Kěrma Wijaya left Lasam and refusing Sang Agong's invitation to stay at Tuban passed on to Jaya Katra, where he was welcomed by the Adipati; and thence to Bentan. Now

having hunted for Radin Galoh Puspa Kēnehana all over Java, Radin Inu Wira Nantaja had gone to Tuban, Jaya Katra, Palembang and finally Bentan, where he was given the title of Ratu Melayn. One night after hearing of Hang Tuah's prowess, he made Pateh Kērma Wijaya relate how he had attacked Bali. The Raja of Bentan went one day with the Ratu Mēlayn to Pulau Ledang to hunt. A white mouse-deer turned on their dogs and the prince decided to found a settlement, calling it Malacca after a tree on the spot where Hang Tuah and his friends afterwards built his palace.

Hearing from Radin Daha that Radin Galoh had met Radin Inu Kuripan at Kēgēlang, Ratu Mēlaka proceeded thither by way of Tuban.

The Raja of Malacca (and Bentan) sends for his brother, Sang Jaya Nantaka, to become Raja Muda of Malacca. They feast and get drunk. Sang Jaya Nantaka is stripped of his honours on account of his popularity with the people.

But a Tamil merchant, Perma Dewan, who has three sons, Madiran, Kadiran, Kalidan, seeing in his astrological tables that the land of Kalinga should have a prince from Si-Guntang, comes and picks out the discredited Sang Jaya Nantaka, disguised as a poor fisherman. At Kuala Nilapura they encounter and capture Fēr-inggi ships: whose captain Sang Jaya Nantaka later ennobles with the title Sētia Nēgara, commissioning him to ward (*payar*) at sea and collect a 10% customs duty (*sa-puloh suatu*). Sang Jaya Nantaka rules over the land of Bijaya (or *Wijaya*) Pikrama, with Pērma Dewan for his Bēndahara, Pērma Disa as Paduka Raja and two other sons of the merchant appointed Maharaja Indēra and Maharaja Lela Sētia.

Now the Raja of Malacca sent an offer of marriage to Tun Teja, daughter of Bēndahara Sēri Bnana of Indērapura. But the lady declined, saying that she a sparrow should not mate with a hornbill. So he despatched Pateh Kērma Wijaya, with Hang Tuah and his comrades, to Majapahit to ask for the hand of a princess there, Radin Galoh or Mas Ayu. The embassy got a favourable answer owing to the wit of Hang Tuah in criticizing and curing of vice a horse, the present of another suitor from Kalinga. The embassy returned by way of Tuban, Jayakatra and Palembang. The Raja of Malacca then went to Majapahit, taking Hang Tuah, on whose life many attempts were made by Javanese warriors. Hang Tuah killed one assassin, Taming Sari. The Bētara of Majapahit presented him with the island of Jēmaja. Hang Tuah and his poor friends became pupils of Sang Pērsanta Nila on the mountain Wirana Pura. One Sang Bimasina was sent to steal Hang Tuah's creese. Constant efforts were made to make him drunk. Seventy assassins attacked him in vain. A champion Sang Winara Sēmēntara engaged him, changing himself into a fire-fly and then a cat and later a tiger, but he fell and was buried on the mountain Isma

Giri. Hang Tuah and his four friends retaliate, wrecking the pleasure of the Bētara of Majapahit and defeating 1,000 men. Pateh Gajah Mada commissions Rangka, Patch Sērangka Dohan and Kiu Tēmindēra, to escort the Raja of Malacca home.

(P. 215) Hang Tuah was slandered by Pateh Kēma Wijaya, as having an intrigue with a girl in the Raja's Palace. The Raja condemns him to death but the Bēndahara sends him away. He determines to go to Indērapura to get the hand of Tun Teja, daughter of Bēndahara Sēri Buana, for his master the Raja of Malacca. Arriving there he makes friends with her duenna, Dang Rakna, who tells him the princess wants to poison herself as she does not wish to marry Panji 'Alam, a Mēgat of Trēngganu to whom her father has betrothed her. Hang Tuah plays *sepak raga* with Tun Jenal, a son of Bēndahara Sēri Buana, and the Tēmēng-gong called Tun Mēgat. He tells them who he is but adds he will serve no master who is not descended from the royal house of Bukit Si-Guntang (p. 223). Hang Tuah asks to hear singing. The five singers say, "Our tunes are not Malayan; for we are half-caste Malays (*Mēlayu kachokan*) and not true Malays like the people of Malacca." Hang Tuah replies, "Malacca Malays are also half-castes, mixed with Javanese from Majapahit" (p. 225). One of the tunes is called "*Sēri Rama mēnambak tasek, Tasek di-tambak Langkapuri*," composed by the Dato' Bēndahara Paduka Raja. The Bēndahara takes Hang Tuah before the Raja, who offers to give him a court office.

Hang Tuah afraid that he will be sent back a prisoner to Malacca, pretends he is on his way to Trengganu. He tells how the Raja of Malacca has sent two emissaries to Siam to get elephants from the Phra Chau. The Raja of Indērapura promises him protection. He dresses entirely in white and goes to the market and buys civet, and makes a love-charm to win Tun Teja. Dang Rakna smears it on Tun Teja's bed and she falls in love with Hang Tuah. He refuses to eat with her, saying that it is tabu (*pantang*) for him to feed with any woman, even his own daughter (p. 252). For three nights she visits him but he discourages her advances, meaning to take her to Malacca for his Raja. The two emissaries of the Raja of Malacca call at Indērapura on their return. Hang Tuah puts Tun Teja and her maids on board their boat and they sail to Pulau Tinggi (p. 258). By order of the Raja of Indērapura they are pursued by the Laksamana, the Sēri Maharaja Lela, Tun Jinal and Tun Pikrama. Laksamana lets fly his 990 arrows at them and finally a storm divides the combatants. The Indērapura chiefs return and their Raja decides to inform Panji 'Alam of Trengganu. Hang Tuah arrives at Malacca and with bound hands falls before the Raja, and asks for pardon, saying he has brought the 'arrow of love' which transfixed his highness' breast of yore and 'the glass of form' he has longed for. Tun Teja still wants to marry Hang Tuah, till he reads charms (*pustaka*), blows into her cabin and makes her loathe him. Tun

Teja is taken to the palace. Hang Tuah is created Laksamana and given three streams (to rule). The duenna is created Paduka Mahadewi and given 100 slaves and 20 catties of gold and silver.

When the Raja of Trengganu hears from Sang Fērdana and Sang Sura, the emissaries from Indērapura, then his son Megat Panji 'Alam dons his long Minangkabau creese and mounts his elephant Shah Kērtas and sets out with 4,000 soldiers and 2,000 bearers to attack Malacca. He is advised to start at that propitious moment "when the snake is worsted by the frog" on the 9th day of Jamadi'l-awal, a Sunday, when "the shadows are 13½ paces." He goes first to Indērapura "camping across the river" (p. 272). His relative, Mēgat Kēmbār 'Alī, interviews the Raja, and asks for audience for Mēgat Panji 'Alam. It is admitted that when *anak raja* come from Trengganu, they may come with drums and processions and sit beside the Raja Muda of Indērapura.

News of the intended attack reaches Malacca. The Laksamana, Tun Jebat and Tun Kasturi sail for Indērapura in the ship *Mēndam Bērahi*, calling at Pulau Tinggi. Tun Utama, Tun Bija Sura, Hang Lēkir, Hang Lēkiwa and 3,000 men go overland. The Laksamana rows up the river and decides to wait on the Raja of Indērapura on the morrow "when the shadows are 7 paces (*tapak*), and the Gēroda is worsted by the snake" (p. 278). The Raja of Indērapura says that Mēgat Panji 'Alam is setting out on the 9th of Jēmadi'l-awal to attack Malacca. The Laksamana returns to his ship and reads his *pustaka*, and Tun Jebat and Tun Kasturi keep watch on one leg (*bēramal dēngan kaki tunggal*) till day-break. They set out for the Raja of Indērapura's palace, when the shadows are 12 paces. Mēgat Panji 'Alam comes and is stabbed to death on the palace steps by Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi, who then kill Mēgat Kēmbār 'Alī. The Raja of Indērapura orders them to be impaled for murder before his eyes: but the Laksamana and his 40 warriors draw their daggers, march out and, taking the elephant of the murdered prince, set sail for Malacca. The Raja honours them and bestows raiment on Adipati Jēmaja and 6 Batins who bore titles and the 40 warriors (p. 290).

The wife of the Raja of Malacca, Radin Mas Ayu, was with child and longed for the fruit of a coconut palm a *nyior gading* which grew in the middle of Malacca beside a *mēlaka* tree. The palm was thin and eaten by fire in the middle; no one dared to climb it and it would be unlucky to fell it. Hang Tuah climbed the palm (p. 292). The princess, now called Radin Galoh, bears a son, Radin Bahar. Ambassadors are sent by way of Toban to inform his grandfather the Bētara of Majapahit. Pateh Gajah Mada receives them and the Bētara sends 40 maids and 40 youths and a *tezi* horse to his grand-child. Only Laksamana dares ride the horse.

Radin Mas Ayu bore another son, Radin Bajan. One day a horse belonging to the boys fell into a midden. Wrapped in 7

cloths Hang Tuah rescues the animal and then bathes 7 times and is bathed by the Raja from 7 jars of scented water (p. 299).

Hang Tuah remonstrates with the Raja for neglecting Radin Mas Ayu in favour of Tun Teja. The Bētara hearing his daughter is neglected sends Rangka and Barat Kētika to Malacca to enquire why his son-in-law never sends embassies to Majapahit. Hang Tuah with Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi are sent. The Bētara and Pateh Gajah Mada try in vain to slay him. The letter from the Raja of Malacca is escorted on an elephant to the *pěseban*, where Radin Aria reads it. Various champions Pěrwire Jafra, Samirang, Sangga Ningsun and bands of 40 and 7,000 warriors are set to steal Hang Tuah's weapons and to kill him but all fail. He returns to Malacca with a letter from the Bētara to his Raja inviting him to go to Majapahit. Three vessels, the *Siru'l-alamīn*, *Mēndam Bērahi*, and *Maratu's-safa* are prepared. Tēmēnggong, Maharaja Sētia, Tun Utama, Sang Raja, Tun Raja 'diraja are left to guard the harbour; Sang Raja and Tun Bija Sura to guard Bukit China; Tun Utama in charge of the palace. The Raja takes leave of his wives. Radin Bahar runs up to his father, holds his hand and begs him to bring him a prancing white pony (p. 35).

They sail, stay three days with the Adipati of Palembang and thence go to Java Katra, and then sail on to stay with the Sang Agong of Toban. Radin Aria is sent to escort the Raja from Toban. As he passes through the street of Majapahit, the people whisper in pity that he is going to be killed for having another wife besides the Bētara's daughter. On an elephant called Indēra Chita he goes to the palace. Karang Daru's-Salam, prepared for him. The next day 40 warriors are sent to create a disturbance in the town, which Hang Tuah is asked to quell. He quells it. Then a warrior Pētala Bumi is sent to slay him. Pētala Bumi transforms himself into a cat and his comrade Barat Kētika into a rat and so they enter Hang Tuah's room; then Pētala Bumi becomes in turn a stump, a dog and a tiger (whereupon Hang Tuah becomes a bigger tiger), and finally a *raksasa*, in which shape he is sorely wounded. Commending his son, Kērtala Sari, who is away in Dalia, to the care of the Bētara, he prepares to slay every one in the compound, but is himself killed by Hang Tuah.

The Bēndahara Paduka Raja despatches Tun Utama to Majapahit to say that Radin Bahar is sick from longing for his father. The Raja of Malacca returns home. Mērga Paksi and six warriors are sent from Majapahit to capture Malacca and kill Hang Tuah: they hide on Bukit China outside the town, slaughter a stray buffalo and steal a jar of spirit from the town; nightly they rob and ravish. Hang Tuah promises to kill them within seven days. Dressed in black and pretending to be a liberated gaol-bird he carries a sack of rice and two *irang* of spirit on his shoulder, way-lays them and becomes an accomplice of the gang. He helps them to rob the houses of the Bēndahara and Tēmēnggong and

finally breaks into the Raja's palace and carries off eight chests of treasure. He learns all the robbers' magic arts, then drugs and kills them.

All the officers of the court hate Hang Tuah and tells Pateh Kërma Wijaya he is a "a fence eating the crop," an officer of the court who seduces the Raja's concubines. Hang Tuah went to the *ulu* of Malacca and was fishing with a cast-net, when Hang Jebat and Hang Kasturi arrived to recall him. The raja orders the Bëndahara to slay him and confers his creese of office on Hang Jëbat. The Bëndahara hides Hang Tuah in an orchard seven days' journey up-country, where a religious teacher Shaikh Mansur prophesies that in 20 days he will return to Malacca.

The Raja spoils Hang Jëbat who takes liberties in the palace. The Raja styles him Paduka Raja, the title of the Bëndahara's house. He is rude to courtiers and runs loose among the Raja's women. At last the Raja detects Tun Jëbat's madness and removes to the Bëndahara's house. Hang Jëbat sits on the ruler's mat, bathes in his jar, wears the royal raiment and sleeps on the royal couch (p. 75). Pateh Kërma Wijaya leads an assault upon the traitor in the deserted palace but fails. Hang Kasturi, Hang Lëkir and Hang Lëkiwa then attack but fail. The Tëmënggong attacks. Hang Jëbat leaps down like a tiger, his blade flashing like a volcano in eruption (p. 80). The Raja sends for the Laksamana's son Tun Kadim and adopts him, repenting of killing his father. "If Hang Tuah were alive, I should feel as though my revered ancestor on Mt. Si-Guntang were restored to life." The Bëndahara hints (*di-kilat-kilatkan*) he is alive. Tun Pikrama and Tun Kasturi go and fetch Hang Tuah. He gives a knife to Shaikh Mansur and the shaikh gives him a shabby praying mat (*musalla*). Hang Tuah is welcomed by the Raja. Stiff for lack of practice of fencing, he is massaged for five days. He cannot find a creese that suits him. Hang Kasturi enters the palace and is allowed by Hang Jëbat to get (*boleh* p. 91) a creese, an heirloom from Mt. Si-Guntang. For three days the two weapons selected by Hang Tuah are sharpened. At midday when the low sound of a single drum shows that Hang Jëbat sleeps, Hang Tuah enters the palace. Hang Jëbat stabs the 700 girls in the palace and their blood runs through the floor of the palace like rain. Hang Tuah protests. The traitor replies, "Cracked by a pounding or a sweeping blow, crockery still becomes a shard (*di-titek bëläh, di-palu pun bëläh, tëmbekear juga akan sudah-nya*). I'll sin thoroughly (*sa-pala-pala nama jahat: jangan këpalang*)." Hang Tuah leaps up into the palace. They fight, eyeing one another "like hawks," "spinning round like wheels," "the lunges as swift as a boomerang" (*baling-baling*). The crowd gets under the palace and stab at Hang Jëbat's feet but endanger Hang Tuah too. The two fighters stop and get four large brass trays and lay them down. Standing on the trays they renew the fight. They talk. The traitor says his behaviour was due to the injustice done to Hang Tuah. Now he has fallen from

pride like a "bulb crushed by the weight of its bloom" (*rosak bawang di-timpa jambak-nya*). Hang Tuah replies with the proverb "Better death with honour than life with shame, so that one may enter heaven." (*Baik mati dengan nama yang baik; jangan hidup dengan nama yang jahat, supaya masok shurga jëmah*).

Hang Jëbat asks Hang Tuah to adopt his unborn child, if a boy, offspring of him and a waiting-maid Dang Baru. Hang Tuah snatches his own creese from his opponent and gives him another. Hang Jëbat's creese gets stuck into a tray as he lunges. Hang Tuah stabs him. The crowd starts to mount the palace but seeing Jëbat still alive flees in panic; "some fell on their faces, some in a sitting posture, some broke their legs, others their arms, others their backs; some fell on their backs, some broke their noses, others their foreheads. When each got home, his wife asked, 'What broke your nose, father of Awang?' kissing him and exclaiming, 'Oh! it must hurt!'" (p. 105). Jëbat leaps down from the palace and slays every one he meets for three days, while Hang Tuah has retired into his house and sits in seclusion, refusing to speak. On the fourth day, as Hang Tuah is going to the river to bathe, he sees Jëbat stabbing at people in the market, and calls out to him to cease. Jëbat comes and falls at Hang Tuah's feet. Hang Tuah takes him to his house and gives him betel. Jëbat renews his request that Hang Tuah shall adopt his unborn child, and after that begs that his bandages be undone. He dies on Hang Tuah's lap. The Raja has his corpse placed in the middle of the main gate and after seven days hanged on the main road. Laksamana Hang Tuah is high in royal favour, and bears himself humbly.

Now the Sëri Bëtarä of Majapahit and Pateh Gajah Mada desired revenge for the death of Pëtala Bumi and the six swash-bucklers killed by Hang Tuah at Bukit China. They send Pëtala Bumi's son, Kërtala Sari, who has just devastated Daha. He mixes with the Javanese colonists, Pateh Kërma Wijaya's men, and perpetrates a series of robberies. Hang Tuah protects the palace by hanging a row of spears that move and lunge all round it.

Hang Tuah lies like a corpse in the middle of the market and as Kertala Sari passes jumps up and stabs him. He mutilates the robber (*di-hiris-nya pësawat Kërtala Sari*) and takes his creese (p. 118). So he proves that he killed the robber against others who finding the corpse cut off ears and head and hand and claimed to have done the deed.

The Raja sends Hang Tuah, who can speak Tamil, with Tun Kasturi, whom he makes Maharaja Stia, to the land of the Klings, Bijaya Nigrama. A royal letter to the ruler is escorted down to Hang Tuah's boat. After seven days' sail they reach the island Biram Dewa, "looking like an elephant," and go ashore. There he meets the Prophet Khidîr who foretells his safe return from this embassy to India and from a later embassy to China. The prophet also tells him to take seeds from a tree in the island which will burgeon and flower and fruit as soon as planted *i.e.* perform

the mango trick (p. 124). They reach the land of the Klings. The port-officer takes them to a merchant Nala Sang Guna who regales them with dainties made in Nagapatam fashion (p. 129), gives them anchorage at the spot reserved for the Franks, and announces their arrival to the king, Kishna Rayana (p. 130). The king summons his champions from Malabar and Kandi. Hang Tuah and his followers go several days' journey up to the palace.

The gates of Bijaya Nigara were painted with incidents from the stories of Sri Rama and the five Pandavas. And there were thousands of idols and a temple. Laksamana gets his interview with Kishna Rayana (? = *Krisnaraja*, v. Ronkel) and speaks the Nigramma language which only princes and ministers know:—he learnt it from a religious pundit (*lĕbai*) at Majapahit. Kishna Rayana complains that when at Malacca he got interviews only with the Bĕndahara and (?) a fisherman (*si-pĕngail*). Hang Tuah gives the wife of Nila Sang Guna (? = *Narasinggana*, v. R.) medicine to enable her to bear a child. 70,000 Franks, and thousands of soldiers from Malabar and Khalilat (? = *Pulicat* v. R.) wait on Kishna Rayana. Laksamana shows his horsemanship. Kishna Rayana declares he will visit the house of Nala Sang Guna but privately forbids all people to sell him firewood. Hang Tuah solves the problem by bidding him pour oil on bales of his cloth and so cook fare for royalty. Hang Tuah does the mango trick (p. 143). He kills a swashbuckler. They visit a temple (*rumah bĕrhala mĕnjadi sĕndiri*). Captains of vessels and merchants who may lack capital, borrow gold from the god of the temple, Sang Brahma (p. 146) and, on pain of disaster for breach of faith, repay it with interest. Hence the wealth of the temple. In it, too, was a reservoir for oil for its lamps. They visit an alms-house (*balai dĕrma*) where the poor are fed.

Kishna Rayana sends Hang Tuah on an embassy to China. Trade with China brings tenfold profit (*ĕsa jadi sa-puloh*). Hang Tuah is to declare one of his ships belongs to Nala Sang Guna, so that it may escape the heavy port duties (p. 148). After two months Hang Tuah reaches that port of China called Bakang Hitam (p. 149) and is ordered to anchor upstream at the place reserved for the Franks.

Hang Tuah presents his credentials to the four viziers, Wang Kam Seng, Pang Seng, Lu Ti and Sam Pi Pat. There were seven forts of white stone with doors of brass and gold, and all the houses of the people were dressed with white stone. The emperor grants them an interview. Hang Tuah eating beans contrives to lift his head to see the emperor seated in the mouth of a bejewelled golden dragon (p. 154). Hang Tuah sees thousands of people collecting the tears of a large idol, the father of all China, who weeps to see the sins of his children: bathe in his tears and sins are washed away. With rich presents and a letter for the Raja of the Klings Hang Tuah departs. At the mouth of the estuary 40 Portuguese ships attack the Malays. By reading a charm Hang Tuah stops

the fire of their guns, and defeats the ships all save three which sailed away. "There was one big tall captain, very brave. He cut at the Laksamana with a shaky arm. The Laksamana cut him in two" (p. 158).

Hang Tuah reaches the land of the Klings. Thanks to his herbs the wife of Nala Sǎng Guna has conceived, and her husband piles gold and silver round Hang Tuah up to his neck.

Hang Tuah returns to Malacca. The Sĕri Bĕtara of Maja-pahit had died and Pateh Gajah Mada asks for Radin Bahar to succeed him. Hang Tuah escorts him. On his return a Brunai raja, Adipati Solok, sails with fifteen ships given by his father Adipati Agong, to the cape of Jaya-Katra, called Tanjong Kĕrawang and there waylays the Malacca fleet. Hang Tuah shoots one arrow that breaks the mast and one that breaks the rudder of the Adipati's boat. He captures him. The Raja of Malacca sends Hang Tuah to escort Adipati Solok back to Brunai. The Raja of Brunai sends the Raja of Malacca 3 *pikul* of camphor, 500 *kĕndaka* each worth a *tahil*, 10 blow-pipes mounted with gold, 200 *kodi* of mats (*tikar pachar*) and 3 Brunai slaves, with 90 slaves and camphor for Hang Tuah (p. 174).

Hang Tuah is sent to Siam for elephants. He reaches Ujong Salang and lands at Patani, whose great gate is adorned with a carved dragon. He comes to Siam where Awi Phra Klong tells him he must crawl on his knees into the presence of the Phra Chau unattended. He refuses and is allowed to present himself in Malay style. Viziers, captains and court officers (*abu-abuan*, *ukun-ukun*, *umbum-umbum*) receive him. Hang Tuah speaks Siamese fluently. Hang Tuah fenees with a Japanese bravo and kills him and five of his followers. Two survivors flee to Kuala Kemboja. Hang Tuah remarks on the broken coinage (*bĕnda yang pĕchah bĕlah*) and persuades Phra Chau to substitute the shells he got from Brunai (*kĕndaka*). He is sent home with six elephants for his Raja and four for himself. The two surviving Japanese attack his ships but Hang Tuah's magie lets only smoke issue from their guns and makes their swords drop. Hang Tuah presents the elephants to his Raja. The largest is called *Podi Manikam* and another *Pĕrmata Selan*.

Radin Mas Ayu bears a daughter, Putĕri Gunong Ledang; Tun Teja bears Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Muhammad. The Raja of Malacca sends Tun Rakna 'diraja and Tun Maharaja 'diraja to Ceylon to buy precious stones.

Hang Tuah opens a settlement for his Raja at Mt. Lingga.

The king of Ceylon sends his son Raja Chulan to Malacca in a ship so large that betel-trees and vines were planted on its decks with hundreds of fighting-cocks:—when they crowed, the ship listed. Having been welcomed at Malacca, he asks leave to sail to Trĕngganu, where he worsts the cocks trained by Pa Si-Molong, the Raja's trainer. The Raja puts out the eyes of his

trainer and retires sulking to Pulau Sakti. He promises the trainer four mistresses if he can find a cock which will defeat Raja Chulan's birds. 'I cannot see them' says Pa Si-Molong amid laughter (p. 194). He buys a fowl tied with a string of *molong*, which crows in his hand and tells the Raja it is a cock that cannot be conquered. The Raja dreams that the ships of Raja Chulan are devoured by a *gěroda*, and takes his fighting-cocks to Pulau Sakti confident of victory. The leg of his fowl is broken, when Pa Si-Molong describes him as 'The prince with the iron crutch'; his wing is broken and droops like 'A sail that waits the wind'; his crop is pierced and the rice falls out of it—he is 'an overladen ship being lightened'; his thigh is wounded—he is 'a prince wearing a sword'; his head is wounded—he is 'a prince that has been cupped.' Raja Chulan's victorious bird flies to his ship whereupon it sinks with its 90,000 soldiers; and thence he flies to the palace of the Raja of Trěngganu, which is set on fire and burnt with all the houses in the port (p. 196).

Urged by the princess of Gunong Ledang the Raja of Malacca sends the Laksamana with 70 ships to conquer Trěngganu. He brings captive the princes Sěganda Jaya Leka, daughter of the Běndahara, and Měgat Ma'asum son of Měgat Kěmbar 'Ali. Sultan Muhammad, son of the Raja of Malacca, is married to princess Sěganda Jaya Leka and given the throne of Běntan. Sultan Mahmud is married to the daughter of the Běndahara of Trěngganu (?), and reigns at Lingga.

Inděrapura is attacked by *todak* fish (p. 206). Hang Kadim son of Hang Jěbat advises a wall of banana stems. Hang Kadim is entitled Sang Si-Tuah. The Těměnggong is jealous and accuses him of an intrigue with a girl in the palace and he is beheaded. Hang Kamar, a Malacca man trading there, reports the execution to the Raja of Malacca who sends Laksamana to conquer Inděrapura. Laksamana anchors at Pulau Tinggi and thence sails up to Inděrapura where he exacts tribute and leads captive 1608 persons, the families of those concerned in the death of Hang Kadim.

The Raja of Malacca and all his house sail for Singapore. On the way, while he is looking at a golden-scaled fish, his crown falls into the sea (p. 219). Laksamana dives for it, fights a white crocodile but fails to recover the crown and loses his creese.

Dang Manila and Dang Chěralo, who had escaped from China, reach Manila and complain to the Portuguese Governor, who gets the King of Portugal to send 40 ships against Malacca. Two boat-fuls of Sakai fisherman capture 10 Portuguese and, by order of their Batin headman at Běntan, report the intended attack of an 'Armada' at Malacca. Laksamana, though sick, repels the invaders. The "Captain Governor" is killed and Dang Suala badly wounded. They return to Portugal. Laksamana is wounded but recovers.

The Sakai always catch fish near the sunken crown of the Raja of Malacca, because they float up to avoid its brightness. The Raja is always sick after the loss of his crown and Laksamana after the loss of his ereese.

The Laksamana is sent to Rum to buy cannon. He arrives at Aceh and meets Sultan Silahm'd-din (who was deposed in 1539 A.D., R. O. W.). Thence he sails to Pulau Dewa and the sea of Mukha. He comes to Juddah where is the tomb of Siti Hawa (Eve). He goes ashore and the port officer takes them to Malik Astur, who takes them to Mecca. At that time 886 A.H. (= 1481 A.D.), Sharif Ahmad son of Zainu'l-abidin ruled Mecca, and another son Sharif Baharu'din ruled Medina—both under the suzerainty of Rome. On the way the Laksamana meets Nabi Khidrir, who gives him a flask of water wherewith to moisten lips and ears so that he may speak and understand foreign tongues (p. 240). Deputations from Egypt and Syria bring the sacred carpet to Mecca. The Malay visitors go to all the sacred places (p. 242) and to Shaikh Jamalud-din, keeper of the Prophet's tomb.

They reach Istanbul where the port-officer takes them to Ibrahim Khakan, who describes the glories of Istanbul, the royal garden called Taman Ghairat Bērahi, with its gate Naga Indēra Paksi, its river Dar'u-l-ashikin, the mountain Jabalu'l-'ala, its river adorned with flower-pots called Rambat Kamali and stone banks called Tēbing Singga Safa, its rock Tanjong Indēra Bangsa where the Sultan sits to fish, the island Singga Marmar, with its lake Singga Tasek Kumkuma; the banks of the river called Ratna Chuacha and Sēmbeka, its market-place Medan Hairani, and its orchards full of Malay fruits (pp. 252-8). They are taken to the four Mangkubumis and lastly into the presence of the Sultan. They return with rich presents and guns (*bēdil*), reaching Malacca after a voyage of four months.

The princess of Gunong Ledang is installed ruler of Malacca (p. 279); Tun Mat, son of the Bēndahara, is made Bēndahara Paduka Raja; Tun Karim, son of the Tēmēnggong, is styled Tēmēnggong Sri Sēroja; and Tun Kadim, son of the Laksamana, gets the title of Laksamana.

The Raja of Malacca offers a reward to whosoever will consent to be buried alive and bring him news from the grave. Laksamana consents and on the way gives a cake (*apam*) to a poor dervish (p. 282). He is buried with a string to pull and communicate with the Raja who holds the other end. He pulls and the grave is opened whereupon the Laksamana is found naked with a broken pot (*bēlānga*) in his hand. He tells how two fiery volcanoes attacked him in the grave and he kept them off with the pot he found in his hand and how the fire passed the chipped pot and burnt his clothes.

The Bēndahara retires to Tanjong Kēling, the Tēmēnggong to Tanjong Tuan and the Laksamana to Tanjong Jugēra, where he lived a hermit with his teacher, a Hadramaut Shaikh, who had

come to Malacca from Aceh. All sailors fired a shot and cast a wooden spear in honour of them, when they passed the Tanjong; failure to do this entailed storms (p. 285). The Ruler of Malacca wandered about as a dervish. One day he was given a gourd, whereupon he took a bite of it and carried the rest with him. The Prophet Khidrir, disguised as a youth, tells him he is carrying not a gourd but a skull. He opens his bundle, finds a skull and faints. A voice tells him that dervishes trust in God and do not carry food. The Raja wandered on and was never again heard of. The princess of Gunong Ledang ruled Malacca.

A Portuguese ship came from Manila and touched at Malacca. Next year another ship came and bought as much land as an ox-hide would cover, and the captain cut it into five strips and built a large warehouse which he equipped with cannon. In the night he fired the cannon and destroyed Malacca. The Princess of Gunong Ledang fled and came to a great forest near the land of the Bataks, who made her their queen.

Bëndahara Tun Mat opened Johore. Sultan Mahmud left Bëntan and ruled over Johore.

The Dutch with the help of the Johore Malays ousted the Portuguese from Malacca. The gold leaf on which the treaty was made is still in the possession of the Dato' Paduka Raja of Johore, who led the attack on Malacca.

Tun Tuah is not dead. He is a saint and lives near the source of the Perak river, where he is prince of all Bataks and jungle folk. Sometimes folk meet him and enquire if he wants a wife. He replies, "I do not wish to marry again."

